563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
142 and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

233 The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
556 economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
291 only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent
167 a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
463 Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
441 fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
871 For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

771 The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
538 ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
212 In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
167 Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

619 The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
197 two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

771 All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
233 be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
342 nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
614 in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

563
556 A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic
611 Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth
428 (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of
[425] ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

621 The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related
563 families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration
[592] unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

[233] Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family.
[622] The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul.

621 A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter
563 possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the
614 tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals,
422 on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

614 The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led
563 by a chieftain whose title is bäk, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led
614 by one of the bäks of the great auls. Several clans together form
619 a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three
563 tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is
621 difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and
614 what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function
596 of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a
563 declined clan only has the function of an aul.

[829] A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people by stating that he belongs a)to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended fam-
614 ily). For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a
563 social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

/The New Uighurs/

563 565 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water constitutes the most profitable commodity.

563 565 793 [871] 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin, Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment of the social structure. In its hands the education of the youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in shaping the character of the community. As the representatives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders of the community, but they are also the administrators of the land belonging to the mosque.

563 565 795 [423] This land came into the possession of the mosque as bequests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares for all those persons of the community who are unable to make a living.

563 565 441 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Moslems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities, but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese administrators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the merchants.

563 [591] Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings are usually occupied by extended families who either form an economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy [595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants [556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and therefore become the masters of several family units. The [851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In [428] contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women oc- [562] cupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

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000 563 [595] [369] [582] [584] 563 585 [152] [556] 563 562 885 [302] [581] [533] [539] 563 587

can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen. Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

Women do not reach their full social status until they are thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan, and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawanchi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found in their love songs, as in the following example:

"Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

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/Western Mongols or Torguts/

As
563 their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the
177 Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.
[241]

The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
565 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.

[352] The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
[353] customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
563 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
291 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials
177 wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
327 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
556 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
177

181 721 779 and the Turkis are likely to make untrustworthy soldiers.

J. Material Concepts

• 556 183 One of the most important standards according to which an individual's place in society was measured in Sinkiang was the extent of his wealth (Türk: zenginlik). The wealthy merchants [565] and landowners for centuries occupied the leading positions in society, while those who lacked property, the poor and the beggars, were at the bottom of the social ladder. Wealth was considered as a sign of God's blessings (Türk: Al'ahin nimetleri) and of the individual's earthly wisdom. A man of property commanded political power as well as an important position in society, while a man who had been reduced to poverty lost all his prestige. Poverty was considered a disaster, as the following folk song [735] [539] indicates:

"My horse is gone from before me,
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

(C.P. Skrine, Chinese Central Asia, p. 208)

556 668 177 [565] From the Communist propaganda, it seems their intention is to eliminate the wealthy classes. It is difficult to tell how many of the leading property owners have become influential under the present regime as "Communist" leaders, and how many have been truly eliminated. If Communist doctrines are truly pursued, a new attitude in regard to property, will have to be developed. The association of property with the individual will cease, since the property will be transferred to the ownership of the state. We have indications that such a transformation has not fully occurred. The leadership of the Moslem community, however, has been transferred from its wealthy members to the party officials. An individual cannot aspire any more for advancement in terms of gathering more property, but only in terms of becoming an important party member.

815 668 177 As regards science (Türk : bilgi, verb. 'knowledge', the term is as old as recorded Türkic history) there was not much of it p prior to the Communist revolution. The only type of knowledge prevalent among the population was the knowledge of religion, of Islam, and the scholars of the Turkic community were its Islamic scholars, and not those versed in secular education. However, with the dependence of the new regime on the new regime of science and scientific achievements (sometimes the term science corresponds to what we mean by it, and often it is used to embrace much more), a new emphasis has been put on the sciences. There are very few among the Turkic people in Sinkiang who are familiar with any of the sciences, and therefore there still is no basic attitude or reaction to the world of science. It is regarded with mixed curiosity, admiration and fear. The term "science"